/448 cont./

562
881
[302]
[609]

/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

[262]
*[192]

She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

[756]
[867]

Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

562 /448 cont./
381 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (79).
[756]
[867]
[177]

79. These recommendations against the puraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his
[833] cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the pajé Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoã, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manioc oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have negotiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange ornaments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat

5. Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

615 614 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 614 554 The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hierarchical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither, as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo. [301] Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of [177] seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that [721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political authority over the entire Cuduiari.

614 [613] The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old [867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

5. Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

606
[591] this group is on the affinal relationship. Because of patrilocal resi-
[601] dence it is the daughter-in-law who occupies a special position. She is *hwainko* (younger female), a term that receives her with familiarity and some condescension as an in group member. A daughter-in-law is considered to be at first a replacement for a daughter who has married out, and she lives for a time under the jurisdiction of her mother-in-law, helping her in gardening and in all food preparation. A woman tries to keep her daughter-in-law within her household as long as possible, speaking of her not as her son's wife but as a replacement for her daughter who has been lost to her by marriage. One aspect of the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is stereotyped, and that is the tug of war between a woman's desire to keep her daughter-in-law within her jurisdiction and the desire of the young wife to win autonomy by cultivating her own garden. For the rest, the relationship depends upon the interplay of personalities and upon the circumstance of whether the bride is a foreigner or a brother's daughter or a member of the brother's sib or phratry. When a child has been born and a woman has her own garden, she and her mother-in-law achieve a relationship of greater equality. Terminol-
[601] ogy does not change, even though the reference to an elderly woman as *hwainko* may seem incongruous. The term defines the relationship at its inception.

[867] It is the role of a woman to introduce her daughter-in-law to the
[868] economic routines and to the local customs of the community, a task that would be inappropriate for her husband. Since the Cubeo often marry women who do not even speak their language or dialect the initial period of tutelage is most important, even though the Cubeo do not stress this feature of what is really an apprenticeship.

The relationship with a son-in-law is governed by the circumstance that he normally does not become a member of the community. At best he will be a visitor who joins in the male activities. His relationship with his mother-in-law is one of restraint rather than of formal
[601] avoidance. It is perhaps for this reason that she addresses him as *hwainyó*. His relationship with his father-in-law, on the other hand, borders on intimacy and is predicated upon the equality of men engaged in their common tasks of hunting, fishing, and the conduct of ceremonies. Perhaps it is this equality that governs the use of *pani* or *paniyó* as a reciprocally used term between father-in-law and son-in-law.

607 The other set of affinal relationships recognized by the Cubeo are
601 those involving spouse's siblings, for whom a variety of terms are applied. The general affinal term is *kodjú* or its plural form *hikódju-*

5 Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hiwé*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy.

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.